



# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Asia**

### ***Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN***

No 10, October 1988

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# East Asia

## Southeast Asia

### Vietnam: TAP CHI CONG SAN

#### No 10, October 1988

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## **TAP CHI CONG SAN**

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### **Special Communique on the Passing of Truong Chinh, Advisor to the CPV Central Committee**

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 1

[Article not translated]

### **Roster of Members of State Funeral Committee**

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 3

[Article not translated]

### **Summary Biography of Truong Chinh**

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 5

[Article not translated]

### **Eulogy Delivered by Nguyen Van Linh**

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 8

[Article not translated]

### **Improving the Quality of the Vietnamese Working Class**

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 11-14, 30

[Article by Pham The Duet, President of the Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions, written on the occasion of the 6th National Conference of the Vietnam Confederation of Trade Unions]

[Text] At present, our country's working class (which includes manual workers and civil servants) numbers more than 4 million persons, more than 800,000 of whom are technical workers and more than 700,000 of whom are scientific-technical cadres. Young workers account for 60 percent of the working class, women workers for 46 percent. This is truly a central force, one which is playing a very important role in each field of our society. Without it, the socialist revolution cannot be carried out successfully. Without it, there can be no socialism.

The role of the working class is manifested first in the field of production. Each year, our country's working class creates, through industrial products, more than 30 percent of the gross social product, more than 40 percent of national income and nearly 70 percent of the state budget. The forces of the state-operated economy, which the working class controls, although still weak in many respects, are continuing to develop and continue to play the dominant role within the economy.

The cadres, manual workers and civil servants within the education, public health, culture and other sectors have overcome difficulties and hardships to maintain and expand education and health care and have begun to create a new atmosphere in the field of culture-literature and the arts.

Since the 6th Party Congress, large numbers of manual workers and civil servants have actively supported the views on renovation, supported the processes of democratization and openness. They have brought to light and effectively struggled against negative phenomena in socio-economic life, thereby helping to purify and increase the fighting strength of party organizations and the state apparatus and make social relations wholesome.

However, one situation must be acknowledged. In recent years, changes for the worse, changes very deserving of concern, have occurred within the working class.

The living conditions of the working class have become increasingly difficult. Increasing shortages mark their material and spiritual lives. Wages do not provide the minimum standard of living. The vast majority of manual workers and civil servants must struggle to survive from one day to the next. This situation has caused them to lack a feeling of assurance, to not be enthused about producing and working. They do careless work, work slowly, do not respect labor discipline, are not concerned with productivity, quality and efficiency and do not attach importance to protecting socialist property. Many persons, including workers in high job grades, have quit their jobs to look for another way of earning a living. Since 1978, more than 100,000 manual workers have quit their jobs. A number of manual workers and civil servants within state agencies, particularly in the supply, commerce, and transportation sectors and at basic units that handle goods and money, have looked for every way to get ahead. They steal, offer bribes, and conspire with dishonest merchants to siphon off socialist property. Some persons are pursuing a pragmatic way of life. Gambling, drinking, and superstition have spread.

In the face of the difficulties in production and everyday life, in the face of social injustice and negative phenomena, in the face of the mistakes and shortcomings of the party and state, the mood of the majority of manual workers and civil servants is one of worry, anger and dissatisfaction. Their confidence has declined. In actuality, the relationship between the party and state and the working class is not a close relationship and has seriously weakened.

The cultural standards of workers are low. Nationwide, 42.5 percent of workers have a middle school education or higher and 57.5 percent have a basic general school education.

he skill level of workers is low. The average worker is grade 3.3/7. The number of workers in the high job grades is very small. According to statistics recently compiled by the Confederation of Trade Unions, grade 7 workers account for only 1.9 percent of the working class nationwide.

Since 1979, many highly skilled, veteran workers have left their jobs. They have been replaced by young workers, the majority of whom were previously farmers or poor urban residents. These young workers have not received training at vocational schools and classes nor have they had much contact with modern industry. Therefore, their skills, generally speaking, are still weak and their thinking and habits are still influenced by the thinking and habits of the segments of society to which they previously belonged, of small-scale production. Their industrial style and their sense of organization and discipline are very weak.

The structure of the corps of workers lacks balance and coordination. The recruiting and training of workers are not planned. Therefore, once they have been trained, some persons are not utilized in the sector or trade for which they were trained or do not have a job.

The situation described above shows that the quality of our country's working class is rapidly declining. This is due to many reasons. These reasons are both objective and subjective. However, in the spirit of serious self-criticism, we must stress the subjective reasons. These are:

- The mistakes made in major economic positions and policies, in strategic guidance and the organization of implementation; the fact that the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies has been maintained too long; and the lack of democracy and fairness.
- When the entire country was reunified and began advancing to socialism, we did not promptly or appropriately raise the issue of party agitation among workers. Many principles and policies concerning workers have not been codified in form of laws and have not been seriously implemented.
- Our party and state have not truly been concerned with looking after the living conditions or protecting the legitimate interests of the worker.
- The various party committee echelons and state agencies have not truly respected the Trade Union rights of workers or their right to be masters.

In order for the working class to be able to complete its glorious mission in the present stage of the revolution, it is of pressing importance that we urgently improve the quality of the working class in every respect:

1. To begin with, we must effectively resolve a number of pressing problems concerning the labor and living conditions of the working class. Specifically:

We must urgently reorganize production and restructure the labor force to insure that workers have adequate work on a regular basis. Organizing productive labor in a scientific and thorough manner will play a very large role in the molding of persons because education through labor is "the sole and only way to create perfect persons."<sup>1</sup> We must institute a reasonable wage policy at state-operated enterprises and state agencies; strictly implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor; and provide incentives for achieving seniority and benefits to persons who directly produce products and goods, to skilled craftsmen, scientific-technical cadres, educators and physicians.

Wages, bonuses, and welfare payments must be closely tied to the returns from the production and business of enterprises and increases in labor productivity. The real wage must be maintained through supplies of goods of the central and local levels. We must concern ourselves with having enough rice to sell to workers and continue to subsidize essential goods. We must combat pilfering.

We must improve working conditions for the worker and immediately adopt effective measures aimed at sharply reducing work related accidents. We must prevent and combat occupational diseases. Recreation, trips, and tours must be more widely organized. We must provide good health care to workers and their families, particularly to female workers and the children of workers. We absolutely must not allow women to work in trades prohibited by the law. We must guarantee that women will still have their job after giving birth.

A plan must be adopted for gradually revising policies that have become outmoded and cause unfairness in distribution and remuneration. We must resolve the housing problem of manual workers and civil servants well because housing is a pressing need of manual workers and civil servants, particularly of those working in the large cities.

We must look after the cultural and spiritual lives of manual workers and civil servants well, particularly in remote, wilderness areas.

2. We must uphold the true right of ownership of workers and put into practice the independence of enterprises in production and business.

Facts show that wherever the right of ownership of workers and the independence of enterprises in production and business are respected and guaranteed, a revolutionary movement exists and production is maintained and developed. Conversely, wherever the right of ownership of workers and the independence of enterprises in production and business are violated, wherever cadres are bureaucratic, despotic and intimidate the masses and

wherever state subsidies and special rights and privileges still exist, the activism, dynamism and creativity of workers are thwarted, there is no revolutionary movement and all activities stagnate. Therefore, it is necessary to build a state-operated enterprise management apparatus which is truly the representative of workers in managing the enterprise; take determined steps to dismantle the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies; formulate and implement a policy on socialist production and business independence in keeping with the spirit of Council of Ministers Decision 217/CP; and develop the dominant role of the enterprise and the state-operated economy vis-a-vis the other segments of the economy. These are new and very pressing demands.

### 3. Revamping and improving the education of workers.

In the face of the requirements of the renovation campaign and the actual state of the working class today, the education of workers must be intensified and conducted by new methods. It cannot be simplistic, one-sided, or haphazard.

We must give workers a clear understanding of the views of the party concerning renovation and a clear understanding of the three economic programs and the socioeconomic positions and policies of the party and state so that everyone is united in action and struggles to correctly implement these positions and policies.

The educating of workers must raise their class awareness; help them to fully and deeply recognize their role, position, and responsibility concerning the country; and awaken in them pride in the glorious revolutionary tradition of the Vietnamese working class and the ethnic groups of Vietnam.

We must build upon the splendid inherent virtues of the working class, such as patriotism, love of socialism, self-reliance, perseverance, and steadfastness in the face of all difficulties and challenges, dynamism, creativity, a high sense of responsibility, etc.

We must cultivate within the working class a wholesome and loyal way of life based on ideals, a life of living through one's own labor, a life of respecting and protecting public property and looking after the interests of the collective and the country. We must oppose the pragmatic, selfish way of life, a life of only living for oneself.

We must provide regular information on the country's situation and the task of the enterprise to help workers learn what they need to know about economic management, enterprise management, and economic accounting and enable them to learn about, discuss, and inspect each activity of the enterprise and agency as well as the state.

### 4. We must improve worker training.

The state must formulate a plan for effectively training new workers, one which is closely tied to the socioeconomic development plan, and provide occupational counseling to the young generation. We must create and uniformly manage sources of persons at general schools, trade training schools, colleges, vocational middle schools and on-the-job schools and classes at enterprises to augment the ranks of the working class. These schools and classes must do everything well, from providing counseling and trade training to providing political and ideological education, in order to enable their students to become familiar with industrial production and the life of a worker.

Trade training must be planned in a comprehensive and well coordinated manner with the aim of establishing balance within the education system and balance between the training system and the economy. On this basis, we must improve and develop the system of trade training schools of all types and make sure that this system can take over for the general school system and provide counseling and trade training to students once they graduate from general schools.

In addition to formal schools and classes, the training of workers at basic production units is also a very good form of training, one which must be developed, consequently, along with promulgating regulations on trade training schools, the state must also enact regulations on the elementary and advanced training of workers within production.

Urgent steps must be taken to wipe out illiteracy among workers. The popularization of level I education, and eventually level II education, must be completed among workers at an early date. We must encourage and create favorable conditions for workers who are able to continue their learning to reach higher standards.

### 5. The party's leadership of the mobilization of workers and Trade Union activities must be strengthened.

The party is the vanguard component of the working class. For this reason, the best way to strengthen the party's leadership of the working class is to routinely develop the party among workers. The sectors and enterprises of heavy industry, the leading sectors, national defense enterprises, important production elements, and so forth must have a party cell. Production teams not having a party member is a situation that should not be allowed to continue.

The party committees must respect and build upon the organizational independence of the Trade Union, must lead the Trade Union primarily by means of agitation and persuasion. They must avoid imposing their will upon the Trade Union, taking over the Trade Union's work or being lax in leading the Trade Union. They must truly respect Trade Union law and the statutes and resolutions of the Trade Union. When assigning or transferring Trade Union cadres, they must discuss the

assignment or transfer and reach agreement with the Trade Union. They must listen to, engage in dialogue with, solicit the opinions of, and promptly act upon the correct proposals of manual workers and the Trade Union organization. They must put an end to the practice of taking over the work of the Trade Union, thus causing the Trade Union to depend upon party leadership. They must closely lead the restructuring of the Trade Union organizational mechanism on the various levels to insure that this mechanism is streamlined. They must adopt cadre planning. They must establish new Trade Union cadre standards. They must revamp and improve the quality of Trade Union cadre training. They must keep abreast of the worker situation and the situation concerning the worker movement within each basic unit, each locality, and each sector. They must establish good coordination of efforts between the Trade Union and social organizations and state agencies in order to successfully build among workers a movement to eagerly participate in revamping management, accelerating production, improving product quality and reducing product costs while successfully meeting the goal of stabilizing the socio-economic situation and meeting the socio-economic norms set by the 6th Party Congress.

**Footnote**

1. K. Marx: "Das Kapital," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Book 1, Volume 2, p 231.

**Some Thoughts on Women Cadre Work in the New Situation**

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 15

[Nguyen Thi Dinh; article not translated]

**Understanding and properly Implementing the Code of Criminal Procedure**

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 19

[Phan Hien; article not translated]

**The Role of Booking and Statistics in the Effort To Increase the Effectiveness of Management**

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 23

[Le Van Toan and Truong Van Phuc; article not translated]

**The Interests of the Laborer and Trade Union Activities**

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 27

[Truong Xuan Truong; article not translated]



## Research

### Further Discussion of the Relationship Between Goods and Money

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 31

[Le Huy Phan; article not translated]

### Several Socio-Economic Problems That Need To Be Solved in the Central Highlands

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 37

[Dang Nghiem Van; article not translated]

## Exchange of Opinions

### It Is Necessary To Know the Laws Which Apply When Organizing a Debate on Inflation

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 43

[Vu Ngoc Nhung; article not translated]

### Party Members Participating in Economic Activities

42100003b Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 50-53

[Article by Do The Tung, M.S. in Economics: The Concept of Exploitation and the Issue of Party Members To Participate in the Different Segments of the Economy]

[Text] Exploitation is the behavior of an owner of means of production who usurps the results of the work of others in societies with class antagonisms. Exploitation is a social phenomenon of societies with compulsory labor through which the ruling class usurps the surplus labor and sometimes even the essential labor of the direct producer.

The methods of exploitation vary depending upon each socio-economic form and how labor and means of production are combined.

Under feudalism, the ruling class is the owner of cropland and some of the labor of the tenant. They usurp the surplus product produced by the peasant through land rents.

Under capitalism, the exploitation of hired labor is manifested in the usurpation of surplus value, that is, the difference between the new value created through the labor of the worker and the value of this labor itself.

Socialism (once perfected) will establish socialist ownership of the means of production throughout the national economy and completely abolish the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man. But the abolition of

private ownership and the exploitation of man by man will only be meaningful when they are closely tied to the development of production and many surplus products are produced. If we establish public ownership of the means of production but do not know how to organize and manage and cause production to decline or to not develop or if we do not know how to organize distribution, thus preventing production from supporting the effort to raise the standard of living of the worker, public ownership of the means of production will not be put into practice in an economic sense and will become meaningless. For this reason, during the period of the new economic policy in the Soviet Union, V.I. Lenin advocated reducing the rate of nationalization and slowing down the transfer of ineffectively managed state-operated enterprises to the other segments of the economy.

During the period of transition, many different economic segments still exist because:

—The socialist economy (which consists of the state-operated and collective segments of the economy and the household economy associated with these two segments) is incapable of operating effectively in all sectors of the national economy.

—The economic segments other than the state-operated and collective segments of the economy also stimulate the development of production forces within certain fields, help to provide jobs and raise the standard of living of the working people and are ready to accept the policies and laws of the proletarian dictatorship state and move within the sphere of socialism.

It is the policy of the communist party and the proletarian dictatorship state to tap the combined strength of the entire country within the united national front in order to accelerate the socialist revolution, a front which includes "conditional allies," that is, the national bourgeoisie and private producers.

How, under the conditions described above, can party members participate in economic activities? Can party members participate in the private capitalist segment of the economy?

To begin with, one basic principle must be confirmed: when the economy consists of many different segments, party members may not engage in exploitation but are permitted to receive some lawful income earned in ways other than through their labor (for example, they may use their savings or money inherited from a relative to make a loan to a basic production unit of the state or collective and receive interest payments in return; they may rent out part of their house to receive rental payments, etc.). The party and state recognize these kinds of income in order to tap each potential for economic development. The same applies in the case of low level cooperatives, which must combine distribution



in accordance with labor with distribution in accordance with income from the cropland and means of production voluntarily contributed by cooperative members for use in collective production.

The party member may not engage in exploitation, that is, may not directly usurp surplus labor (this does not include cases in which a technically skilled party member hires a few persons to work along with him as foreman and workers, even though the foreman's income is much higher).

Some persons argue that party members should be able to do whatever is lawful. They maintain that, today, the vanguard character of the party member is only manifested in developing production. Any party member who personally hires workers to develop production, who creates many surplus products and many jobs and who even pays his workers higher than the workers at state-operated enterprises are paid and pays many taxes to the state is doing something good. Why should he not be permitted to do so? Allow me to respond:

—As a party member, a person must set a good example in complying with the law but setting a good example in complying with the law does not constitute all the standards which a party member must meet. It is only one standard of the party member.

—The party is the vanguard unit of the working class. Thus, within the united front of the socialist revolution, the party member must stand on the frontline, not in the ranks of "conditional allies," that is, the bourgeoisie.

—During the period of transition, the economy still consists of many different segments. These segments exist beside one another. They are united in some respects and contradictory in others. They cooperate but also struggle against one another. The overall trend in the movement of the national economy is that as the socialist economy becomes stronger and the dominant role of the state-operated segment of the economy is increased, the other segments of the economy are increasingly transformed in order to be better utilized and move within the sphere of socialism. Thus, who is in the vanguard of making the socialist economy stronger? It is the party member.

With the granting of greater independence to basic economic units, the party member who is skilled in socialist business will be appropriately remunerated and also become wealthy. Wealth will be distributed in accordance with management talent and business skills, not by means of usurping the labor of others. And, this wealth will be part of the commonwealth of persons working together and of society, not the separate wealth of a capitalist who puts all net profits into his own pocket.

Some persons argue that because the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies has not been completely dismantled and the new mechanism has yet to come into existence, the hands of the party member who is skilled in business are tied. Therefore, if a private enterprise were to be established, this party member would be able to develop his talents and contribute much more to society. But if each party member who possesses business talent established a private enterprise, who would conduct the pilot projects needed to determine which are the most appropriate economic forms for perfecting the socialist business mechanism? At this time of difficulty, it is the party that needs talented members who are dedicated to our great cause in order to open the way to our bright future.

There is the opinion that if party members are not allowed to participate in the private capitalist segment of the economy, capitalists will not dare to invest in it. But the force motivating capitalists is never the example set by communist party members, but economic interests. The reasons why some capitalists have not eagerly "joined in" are because the previously inconsistent policies of our state have left them with a feeling of skepticism and because our new positions and policies have not been fully codified and do not fully guarantee their socio-economic interests. The correct approach is to refine the law in order to encourage them to actively invest, not to allow party members to participate in exploitation. Moreover, even within the state-operated segment of the economy, many enterprise directors are not party members.

Others argue: if party members are allowed to participate in the private capitalist economy, they will be easier to manage than capitalist businessmen because they are bound by party statutes and possess class consciousness, consequently, they will voluntarily comply with the law. This is not a solid argument. Facts show that even party members within the state-operated economy, not to mention party members within the other segments of the economy, easily degenerate if they are not closely inspected by the party and state. Once a person becomes part of a private, capitalist style of business apparatus, profits become a stronger motive than statutes and principles.

One concern of many persons is what should we do about party members, particularly retired party members, who have set up enterprises, hired many workers and are developing production or a service. In my opinion, we should encourage them to continue to do what they are doing now. The important issue is that we must require that they correctly distribute the enterprise's surplus product.

If we analyze the activities of capitalists during the period of laissez faire capitalism, we see that there are two sides to every capitalist. On the one hand, he is a manager, and sometimes a skilled specialist. On the other hand, he is someone who exploits the surplus labor

of the worker. In abolishing capitalist production relations, we should only do away with the exploiting side of the capitalist. We must acknowledge and learn from his role as a manager, that is, as an "orchestra conductor," which is necessitated by the nature of working together. If party members who have their own enterprises want to continue to be worthy of being communist party members, they must continue to maintain and perfect their role as enterprise managers. The enterprise manager will be remunerated in a manner commensurate with his talent, plus receive income from the shares purchased through his capital. As a result, his income will be high and he will be prosperous. On the other hand, he will not use the net income of the enterprise for himself, but use it instead to carry out expanded reproduction, improve the welfare of workers and increase his contributions to the state budget. In summary, he must make his enterprise a capitalist-state enterprise "which is three-fourths socialist" (in the words of V.I. Lenin).

Today, in order to reduce the size of staffs and improve the living conditions of manual workers and civil servants, many agencies have also established production or service enterprises. Many party members who have been assigned the job of business manager have received quotas on the amount of profits that must be contributed to the agency each year (in addition to taxes and contributions to the various funds). As the returns from the enterprise's business grow and the more the profits earned exceed this quota, the more the income of the manager and the workers increases. Here, party members who possess management skills enjoy a high standard of living and are recognized as outstanding party members.

If party members who have their own enterprises are not satisfied with the high income they receive on the basis of their management skills but want instead to put all profits into their pockets, as ordinary capitalists do, to continuously make themselves richer, they must be stripped of their title as party member but not stripped of their status as a capitalist because this status is recognized by the law. However, within the private capitalist segment of the economy there are still party members. These are members who were accepted from among progressive persons who work for hire for capitalists. They are the same as the party members at capitalist enterprises prior to the revolution. They only difference is that, today, their task is to defend the interest of workers within the enterprise and participate in transforming and utilizing these capitalists in exact accordance with the positions and policies of the state.

There are also party members within the state capitalist segment of the economy. These are members who were appointed as management cadres by the party or were accepted into the party from among enterprise workers.

Party members are also found within the private, small-scale commodity production segment of the economy. These members were accepted into the party from

among progressive and fully qualified private workers. Within this segment of the economy there are also retired party members who are still in good health and want to participate in production or a service in order to improve their standard of living. They must maintain their character as a vanguard militant and not allow negative phenomena to cause them to degenerate. If they do degenerate, they will be expelled from the party.

In summary, in my opinion, party members must be present in all segments of the economy during the period of transition, except in cases when they become capitalists who usurp the surplus product of the worker, make loans at exorbitant rates of interest or engage in other forms of exploitative behavior.

**Party Members Should Be Allowed To Participate in the Private and Individual Segments of the Economy**

42100003c Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 54-57

[Article by Pham Van Khanh, research cadre, the Marx-Lenin Institute]

[Text] Since the 6th Party Congress, under the policies of encouraging the development of the five segments of the economy, accelerating commodity production and shifting to socialist accounting and business principles, there have emerged within the private and individual segments of the economy a number of party members and families of party members participating in production, business or the services.

In Hanoi, of the 38,443 establishments engaged in trade, the services and production, 16,299 are operated by families of cadres, manual workers and civil servants and 1,833 by party members; of the 21,451 establishments doing business in commerce, 855 are operated by party members; and of the 12,159 engaged in public food services, 708 are operated by party members. There are 271 party members in the field of contract production and other types of services. Of the 840 party members surveyed in Ho Chi Minh City, 195, who have capital, production tools and a building, have organized cooperative labor to weave cloth, weave elastic or make automobile seat cushions, mattresses and wooden furniture. Four party members have hired from 2 to 6 workers. Fifty have opened food stores, coffee stands, fruit and cigarette stands, clothing repair shops and motorbike repair shops. Four party members have opened massage parlors and employ from 12 to 18 young women. Twenty party members sell general merchandise and work as agents for marketing cooperatives. Some 21 party members rent out stores (supplied by the state), one of whom earns more than an ounce of gold per month. Twenty-one party members pooled their capital and made a loan to a collective at an interest rate in excess of 10 percent.

Similar situations exist in a number of other localities.

From the investigative data and having studied the participation by party members in economic activities within the private and individual segments of the economy in a number of localities, I find:

1) The scale of production, business and the services operated by party members and the families of party members is still small compared to actual potentials. More than a few party members (either retired or still at work) have capital, technical skills and experience, particularly in the large municipalities, such as Hanoi, Haiphong, Ho Chi Minh City, Da Nang and so forth, but have yet to utilize them fully.

2) Practically all the party members who are engaged in the private and individual economies are retired party members. Of this number, the majority of the persons who operate effectively are persons who possess highly developed manual or technical skills, who know a traditional trade, who have broad relationships in their work, who have capital and a favorable location for producing, doing business or providing a service.

3) While it is true that party members play an important role in the economic activities of household businesses, they do not dare organize these businesses under their own names (because they are afraid of being called "exploiters" or violating party principles). The name most commonly used is the name of their father, mother, wife or a child.

4) The party members and families of party members who work in the private and individual segments of the economy earn a much higher income and enjoy a much higher standard of living than the party members and families of cadres, manual workers and civil servants whose only income is their wage.

On the basis of the above, I propose that the party and state permit party members to participate in the private economy and the individual economy.

Our party currently has more than 2 million members. On the subward and village level, the number of retired party members who have economic management experience or possess a highly developed specialized skill is considerable.<sup>1</sup> Permitting party members to participate in the private and individual segments of the economy would afford several advantages:

—The production capacity (particularly capital, labor, technical skills, production tools and so forth) lying dormant among party members would be tapped, thereby making a significant contribution to developing production, business and the services. As a result, the supply of products and goods would increase and many traditional sectors and trades would be restored and developed, thus helping to expand the domestic and international markets.

—Important contributions would be made toward resolving the difficulties being encountered with jobs and with the standard of living of party members and their families.

—It would help party members and party organizations gain experience in business and trade so that the party could effectively lead the segments of the economy outside the state-operated and collective segments and gradually bring these other segments of the economy completely within the orb of socialism.

—It would help to correct the thinking of relying upon others, the passive attitude, the egalitarianism and the lying and sloppy work created among party members by administrative management and state subsidies. Egalitarianism would be replaced. There would be incentive to develop talents. Scientific-technical advances would be introduced more rapidly in production, business and the services.

It would exert a good influence upon the wealthy strata of the population and give them greater confidence in the new economic policies of the party and state.

Besides the advantages mentioned above, permitting party members to participate in the private economy and the individual economy would also involve certain "disadvantages" which we must give our attention to preventing, stopping or dealing with in an appropriate manner:

First, divisions might occur within the ranks of party members as a result of differences in income and standard of living. Some persons will become wealthy while others will experience greater difficulties.

Secondly, if we do not adopt good management measures, the majority of the work time, materials, technology and "gray matter" within the state and collective segments of the economy will be drawn into the other segments of the economy.

Thirdly, there might be some party members who will chase solely after profits or degenerate or regress in terms of their way of life and ethics, thus separating themselves from ordinary laborers.

Fourthly, the thinking of worshipping material things and being a slave to goods might emerge and spread and lead to commercialization even of relationships within the party organization and administration, thus exacerbating the problem of special rights and privileges as well as the problem of using land and means of production in a manner not based in principle in order to serve personal interests.

For quite some time, we were either illusory and subjective or rigid and mechanical in how we dealt with the private and individual segments of the economy. This led to incorrect policies and positions and caused serious

consequences. In the thinking of party members and of all society, there are the deeply ingrained prejudices that it is not revolutionary to be wealthy, that trade is synonymous with profiteering and seeking personal gains. The thinking of egalitarianism, narrowmindedness, the fear that another person might become wealthy...are still quite prevalent.

Since the 6th Congress, our party has advocated encouraging the development of the private and individual economies. But efforts to concretize this position in the form of policies have been slow and not well coordinated. More than a few policies are inconsistent, are not compatible with the realities of life.

Our current corps of management cadres and cadres who organize implementation do not possess the necessary skills and qualities. More than a few are still taking advantage of weaknesses on the part of the state to benefit themselves and their families, causing major losses to the state and causing the prestige of the party to decline. Having experienced many periods of transformation, persons who have capital and production capacity are very afraid of being transformed, of being subjected to administrative control, of having their property confiscated. They do not have complete confidence in the positions and policies of the party and state.

Even within the party itself, in some localities where a number of regulations concerning party member standards are not consistent with reality, these regulations still have not been revised. Many party committees are still very confused about how to deal with and resolve cases involving party members who participate in the private economy and the individual economy. Some places tightly control this participation. Others ignore it and do nothing. This situation has caused more than a few obstacles to permitting party members to participate in the household economy, the private economy, and the individual economy.

In my opinion, in the case of party members who meet certain conditions (such as being retired or being outside the state staff and collective sector), the party and state should permit them to participate in the following forms of activity within the private and individual economies:

—Providing capital and production tools to develop production and business or directly organizing production or a business.

—Signing scientific-technical contracts with private and individual production units and businesses (provided that the results of this research are not used by the state or a collective and national secrets are not divulged).

—Renting out space in their homes for use in production, a business or a service (including housing supplied by the state if the housing being used does not exceed state standards).

—Loaning money or gold with the aim of developing production in order to earn an agreed upon interest.

—Working as a contractor within a number of fields of agricultural production, industrial production, or communications and being able to hire workers if the need exists.

However, the party should require and adopt specific regulations demanding that party members fully comply with the policies and regulations of the state. They have the responsibility of educating and propagandizing the masses where they work and reside concerning these policies. They must submit honest reports on their economic activities to the party organization if required. They may not abuse their position or authority in order to enjoy special rights and privileges. If engaged in production, they must guarantee the quality of their goods and meet legitimate needs of society. If engaged in a business or service, they must be civilized businessmen and providers of a service and not do business in contraband. They must not engage in profiteering or hoarding or support persons who earn their livings illegally. If there is a need to hire manpower (no limit on the amount), they must fully comply with the policies of the state concerning labor and make sure that workers and their families are able to live on what they earn. They, themselves, must work and set an example in how they live. Even if their income is high, they must maintain a wholesome way of life and not adopt a lifestyle of luxury and decadence.

The various party committee echelons and levels of administration must teach party members and the masses the views of the party concerning developing the commodity economy and the need to permit party members to participate in the private and individual segments of the economy. Ways must be studied to establish party organizations within basic production and business units outside the state-operated and collective segments of the economy. Measures must be taken to educate and accept into the party workers in these segments of the economy if they are fully qualified and voluntarily join the party. At the same time, we must routinely expel unqualified members from the party.

#### Footnote

1. Of the 753 retired cadres in Cua Dong Subward in Hanoi, 250 are party members and 200 have a college education in various sectors.

#### What is Exploitation?

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 10, Oct 88 pp 57

[Tien Hai; article not translated]

**Reflections on Art and Literature in 1988**

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 60

[Mai Ngu; article not translated]

**Agricultural Machines and the Three Major  
Economic Programs**

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 66

[Nguyen Binh; article not translated]



### This Is Where Confidence Starts To Decline...

42100003d Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 68-70, 49

[Article by Nhi Le]

[Text] Looking at the two piles of papers on my desk, one a pile of criticisms and complaints, and, leaning against it, a pile of responses (cut from newspapers), a teacher friend of mine abruptly pulled me away, but then immediately smiled and quietly pushed me back, saying: "The frog croaks at the bamboo encroaching upon his swamp, but the croaking frog is answered only by other frogs. The bamboo remains silent." And, patting me on the shoulder, he said: "You must admit, our forefathers had a gift for talking big."

This casual remark brought to mind an ancient tale. It was the tale about King Mi-dat-xo [Vietnamese phonetics], who was so often arbitrary in what he said that the god A-po-long [Vietnamese phonetics] gave him the ears of a donkey. The king concealed these ears from others. But his barber saw them one day. What was he to do? If he spoke out, he would be executed. But he would not be able to live with himself if he told no one. Such is sometimes the nature of the truth. Constantly troubled by this dilemma, the barber decided to dig a hole and entrust this dark secret to the inanimate ground. But one day, several reed plants sprouted on this piece of ground. And every time the wind blew through them, the reeds whispered: "King Mi-dat-xo has the ears of a donkey. King Mi-dat-xo has...the...ears...of...a...donkey...the...ears...of...a...donkey."

Thus, even in ancient times, the truth, no matter how deeply it was buried in the ground, still had the power to make plants speak. And, today...

At random, my friend quietly pulled a piece of paper from the large pile and read in a loud voice as if delivering a speech: "A complaint that has not been resolved for 9 years—listen—Vu Thi Dung (from Nam Dinh District in Ha Nam Ninh Province) and her elder daughter Vu Thi Minh—a "war dead" family—showed me a bag containing thousands of written complaints—the majority of which were crumpled and all of which were original copies—weighing 2.7 kilograms. As for myself—a reporter who has covered the countryside for many years—this 2.7 kilogram bag of complaints was like a rock placed upon my heart"(DAI DOAN KET, Number 15, 1 August 1987).

"As for myself" he said—my friend suddenly grew serious—I am confused. Why does he think that he is the only one who feels this way? Here we have a person who has patiently put 9 years of hard work into one complaint and is ignored. Can it be true that all she managed to achieve was to voice her suffering to some journalist! Nine years...that's 3,000 days! Are there other such cases?

My friend then read from another document: "My family is a revolutionary family. One night, in mid-November 1977, as we were quietly going about our lives, the sound of gunfire and armored vehicles suddenly shattered our sleep. Awakening, we were terrified when we saw in the blinding headlights that three tanks and several "Zeps" along with armored troops and public security police had tightly surrounded our house. As we stood there stunned, several ether canisters were thrown into our house. In an instant, everyone inside was unconscious. We were thrown into an armored vehicle and taken away. My mother, my sister, myself and a 15 month old baby were detained for 19 months. My mother's younger sister was detained for 3 months and 17 days. My elder brother, who was home on leave from his border defense post, was detained for 38 months. My grandmother was detained for more than 6 years. What crime did we commit? Over the past 10 years, while in detention camp and after being released, my family has asked this question of responsible agencies, such as the Public Security Service and the People's Organ of Control of Tay Ninh Province, but have yet to receive an answer."(TIEN PHONG Newspaper, Number 23, 13 June 1988) If these things did not happen, why haven't they received an answer? In view of the fact that they have been asking this question for a very long time but have not yet received an answer, what happened must be considered a fact, an exceedingly serious fact!

My friend put down the documents he was holding. I glanced through them: "What night was that"...in Tho Xuan District in Thanh Hoa Province; "the king at the Lotus Blossom Hotel in Ho Chi Minh City;" "a decision that turned black into white in Ha Son Binh;" "the new village bullies in Van Long Village, Van Ninh District, Phu Khanh Province;" "my child was doused with boiling water" at 32 Hang Bai Street in Hanoi;" "clamor over a death" at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry;" "responsibility cannot be evaded" at the IMEXCO General Corporation in Ho Chi Minh City, etc.

While some incidents were recent, others happened decades ago. Some were reported last year or the year before last, but there were also cases and incidents that happened just yesterday. But all have shared the same fate: falling into the abyss of "deafening silence." Or, if some authorized agency or concerned person takes the responsibility for "glancing" at it, the ultimate disposition is cursory and the response is hasty, is a "matter of form," is the same as no answer at all.

How many other such matters and, moreover, matters that have been reported in other papers, on the radio, and on television (and are even on file at official agencies) are there of which I am not aware? In 1987, the 40 provinces, municipalities and the special zone and 16 ministries and general departments still had nearly 31,000 complaints and letters to be carried over to 1988, of which more than 15,000 were classified as backlogged. During the first several months of this year alone,

QUAN DOI NHAN DAN Newspaper published 16 readers' opinions, only 7 of which received a response. Since May 1987, no more than 50 percent of the criticisms published in the press have received a response. The remaining criticisms were nothing more than voices crying in the desert and, unfortunately, brought no one word of reply.

As I write these lines, today being 17 August 1988, the situation remains unchanged. And, I have also learned more. A colleague of mine—Xuan Ba—sat and told me about an elderly, category 4/6, disabled veteran named Nguyen Hong Minh (Hamlet 4, Nghia Lo Village, Quang Ngai City, Nghia Binh Province)—a former National Guard soldier who fought in the famous battle of Dac Doa—who carried 6.85 kilograms of letters, documents, certification papers and so forth in eight trips to Hanoi over a period of 5 years, travelling more than 25,500 miles and knocking on every door, from the general secretary and president to the organ of control, the court and the inspection sector, just to realize his single aspiration—to be classified as able-bodied in order to earn a living. But everything he did was to no avail. I observed that that journalist said something which conformed with both reason and sentiment when he said: "The 2.7 kilogram bag of complaints was like a rock placed upon my heart!"

Are not Miss Dung's 2.7 kilograms of petitions and letters and Mr. Minh's 7 kilograms alone enough to weigh heavily upon the heart of a writer and the hearts of colleagues and sympathetic persons? How, under our system, can we allow such an absurd, perverse situation to exist and pose the danger of spreading: the truth belongs to the strong, to persons who hold public positions and power, to the influential? Is it not a matter of criticize if you must and public opinion can say whatever it wants, but whether to respond or not is the right of a number of persons of position and power?

If this is not the case, why have so many agencies and persons related to incidents and matters criticized in the press remained silent and ignored this criticism, even done everything in their power to stop, impede, or retaliate against loyal persons with no regret?

I know that when he saw the article entitled "A Complaint Unresolved for 9 Years" in NHAN DAN Newspaper, an article which related to him personally, Vu Mong Kiem, who was then the deputy secretary of the Nam Ninh District Party Committee in Ha Nam Ninh Province, tracked down the author of the article and the persons who supplied him with information and summoned them to the village to meet with a number of cooperative members. He then provoked the people into denouncing the author, abused his forum on the district and provincial levels, falsified files to justify his wrongdoing and so forth. Or, as Hoang Quoc Binh, the former public security chief of Dong Tien Village in Chau Giang

District, Hai Hung Province, once boasted: "The central level comes first, the local level second. If you do not like that, sue me." What kind of attitude is that?

Of course, this is not the only reason for this "deafening silence" that has prevailed for many years. Is it not also due to the fact that leaders of the various levels and sectors do not get involved and avoid such matters? Why is this? It might be a matter of "saving face" or the leader being afraid to "open his mouth" or "make waves" because of some "personal relationship." The official correspondence sent by the director of the Nghia Binh Provincial People's Organ of Control dated 24 April 1987 to the Supreme People's Organ of Control concerning the Nguyen Hong Minh case read in part: "The harm caused to Mr. Minh by Messieurs Phien, Tam and Nua also entailed an effort to retaliate against and intimidate the masses, but this aspect was 'covered up' by an influential power. Mr. Minh's position was one of being isolated." Is it because of this "power" that more than 2,000 days were spent and over 25,500 miles were travelled in a vain attempt to arrive at the truth concerning this matter?

It might also be due to the thinking of having to record an achievement, being afraid of affecting one's prestige, fearing that "clearing oneself of charges means 'confessing'...that some persons turn away and feign ignorance. They can even ignore the bitter complaint of injustice by Miss Nguyen Thi Huong Lan in Tay Ninh: "What crime did we commit? If we did not commit a crime, who is responsible for this injustice?"

And, it might also be due to bureaucracy, to the failure to maintain close contact with the masses, to the practice of persons on the upper level going down to the lower level, to basic units, and only working with local "officials," not listening to the real voice of ordinary workers, etc. Allow me to say in addition: this does not exclude cases in which persons must look for ways to "cover up" a crime they committed.

Recently, more than a few cases and incidents have been brought to light through the press and dealt with in a serious manner. The injustice suffered by Nguyen Xi Ly (Nghe Tinh Province) was resolved 3 months after receiving the attention of public opinion. In the Nguyen Van Nhien case (Hau Giang), although the results are coming slowly, although these results are not significant, and although there are many things that must still be done, it is gratifying to see that the verdict sentencing him to prison has been rescinded. Recently, on 10 June 1988, the decision by the Court of Final Appeals to "overrule part of the Appeals Court's verdict concerning Dam Dinh Vinh and Vu Viet Tan, including the payment of damages" brought forth voices of support. But there are still more persons whose "cheek is swollen" who have yet to see the swelling go down.

In ancient times, they opened their mouths and spoke the truth to everyone.



Today, it is hoped that the responsible persons will respond in a responsible spirit to the discoveries and criticisms of the press. V.I. Lenin said that critical remarks are only beneficial when incidents are brought to light and measures aimed at correcting the criticized

shortcomings are taken. In any case, whether official or unofficial, replies to criticism must be made public. Let us do as Lenin said. We cannot allow this serious state of affairs to continue. This is where confidence starts to decline.

**It Is Necessary To Continue 'Things That Need To Be Done Immediately'**

42100003e Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 71-73

[Letter from Ho Si Thoai, Hanoi]

[Text] It has been more than 1 year since the author N.V.L. presented to readers his first article in the series of articles entitled "Things That Need To Be Done Immediately." In this series, the author has pointed out the mistakes, negative phenomena, and negligent acts of some cadres, levels and sectors which have caused considerable harm to state funds and the property of the people. He has also named cadres and party members who have degenerated, become deviant and engaged in embezzlement and bribery; named arrogant bureaucrats who have abused their position and authority to trample upon and intimidate the masses; named speculators and black marketers who have monopolized the market, have disrupted social order and security and so forth.

It is very easy to understand why, in only a short amount of time, this series of articles has caused such a stir and been heartily applauded and supported by the broad masses. In this series, the masses recognize that N.V.L. is speaking their voice, is saying things that have worried and angered them for a long time.

In all fairness, the cases and matters raised by N.V.L. are not new nor are they "earth shattering." What is new lies in the attitude of the author: an uncompromising attitude toward mistakes and negative phenomena. Nor does he counsel the masses to "be patient and wait." Instead, he urges them to demand that "things that need to be done immediately" be carried out in order to quickly put an end to negative phenomena and promptly deal with persons who commit illegal acts and are negligent—regardless of the importance of their duties, regardless of their position—in order to win back the trust of the masses.

In an expression of strong sympathy and support for the author's resolute attitude, the masses have given N.V.L. the "pen name" "Speak Out and Take Action."

Speak out and take action! These are the requirements, the urgent demands of the broad masses and of persons of conscience and good will in the face of the country's situation and the state of society today. As everyone knows, the negative phenomena and wrongdoing that are sweeping society today stem from many different causes: our difficult economic life; the injustice in society; degenerate and deviant cadres who do as they please and set bad examples for the masses; laxity in enforcing the law; the disregard for social order and discipline and so forth. And, there are other no less important causes. They are: the malady of empty theory; the malady of sloganeering; speaking but not acting; saying much but doing little; speaking well but doing sloppy work and so forth.

Now, author N.V.L. has made his appeal to speak out and take action and is demanding that "the tasks of the moment" be carried out to quickly put an end to the negative phenomena in society and make the country's atmosphere wholesome. There is, therefore, nothing unusual about the masses viewing this series of articles entitled "Things That Need To Be Done Immediately" with a sense of satisfaction and confidence and considering it to be a call to action, an appeal to adopt a new style that is more dynamic, more responsive, more militant: once it has been spoken, action will be taken! An atmosphere of openness and democracy, of speaking forthrightly and speaking the truth has grown a bit larger among the masses. This is the first direct result to come in response to N.V.L.'s series "Things That Need To Be Done Immediately."

But besides the large segment of the masses that heartily applauds N.V.L. and stands ready to support him in the struggle against negative phenomena, there is another segment which, as seen in their giving the author the "pen name" "Jump into the Fire," view and evaluate "Things That Need To Be Done Immediately." series differently.

These persons, although some of them applaud the author's courage and his daring to personally confront persons who are doing things that are wrong, generally display an attitude of skepticism and a lack of confidence. They maintain that no matter how vigorously the struggle against negative phenomena might be waged, it will ultimately go nowhere because negative phenomena in our society today are countless in number and there is no way to combat all of them. This attitude has its own reasons: for many years now, countless persons with all the necessary authority at their disposal and numerous slogans have emerged in the face of the spread and growth of negative phenomena but neither has accomplished anything. Undesirable elements continue to arrogantly do as they please and have their way, causing society to rapidly "degrade." And now, N.V.L. is also jumping into the flames, demanding that we quickly put an end to negative phenomena, demanding that we severely punish those who are doing wrong. He will either endeavor to no avail or bring disaster down upon himself, either be killed in the flames or, at the very least, be severely burned.(!)

In addition to the two segments of the masses mentioned above, there is a third segment, one which views the series of articles entitled "Things That Need To Be Done Immediately" unsympathetically, if not to say with resentment, as seen in their pen name for N.V.L.: "Squealer."

Offering neither moral support nor praise and displaying neither skepticism nor a lack of confidence, these persons display unconcealed resentment toward the efforts of author N.V.L., efforts which conform with the feelings of the people and the thinking of the party. Their reaction surprises no one. Because, it is the mistakes and

the negative phenomena caused by them which N.V.L. has brought to light in his series. How could they welcome this struggle against negative phenomena—not to mention support and participate in it? How could they sit idly by and watch “things that need to be done immediately” be carried out smoothly and strip them of their long-held special rights and privileges? They are, therefore, determined to oppose “the tasks of the moment” at all costs, even though they know in their hearts that this struggle against negative phenomena is correct, is necessary, is a matter of survival.

What must be given attention is that although these persons swimming against the current are not large in number, they are a rather “heavy weight,” because, among them are many persons in power who currently hold important positions on one level or another, at one place or another. They are able to use the name of the party and state—as they have been doing—to suppress, intimidate, and shut the mouths of the masses through “irrefutable” “revolutionary” arguments. In actuality, they are a major obstacle, one which cannot be given light attention. The realities of the recent past have proven this. Whether “things that need to be done immediately” are performed quickly or slowly, whether they are performed with ease or difficulty depends, in no small way, upon these persons, upon the “border passes” they are defending.

Therefore, although the resolution of the 6th Party Congress dealt with this issue in a serious manner, although the banner has been raised and an appeal has been made by the highest leader of the party, although the struggle has the support of the broad masses and although the radio has raised a loud voice, the struggle against negative phenomena has not gone at all well.

It is not without reason that public opinion has observed that the struggle against negative phenomena has subsided in recent days following the intense initial response to “Things That Need To Be Done Immediately.” Some cases and incidents involving negative phenomena have been forgotten. Some have been “shelved” by authorities for far too long (which the masses once called the “frightening silence”). Some cadres who were criticized by public opinion and denounced with all the necessary evidence remain in their positions. They continue to hold power and no one dares to lay a hand on them.

Such has been the situation at certain times and places. However, the masses are still waiting, still hoping that the struggle against negative phenomena launched by N.V.L. through “Things That Need To Be Done Immediately” in the face of the new situation will not come to a standstill, or even be abandoned, as a result of misguided appeals to “be careful not to be exploited by the enemy,” “not bare our backs for all to see,” “not trouble the people,” “not impede the work of leaders,” etc.

This cannot be allowed to happen! In light of the country’s current situation and the state of society, the vast majority of party members, cadres and the masses hope that, despite more than few difficulties and obstacles, the struggle against negative phenomena will continue to develop. We cannot allow cadres and party members who have degenerated and become deviant—become parasites—to remain within our party and state. We cannot allow mistakes and negative phenomena to freely spread and develop, corrupting our society and causing the masses to lose confidence, which, once lost, cannot be regained. We cannot allow time to support these undesirable elements or their wrongdoing!

The campaign to purify and increase the fighting strength of party organizations and the state apparatus and make social relations wholesome, a campaign of a profound revolutionary nature—is being carried out on the basis of mobilizing the masses to boldly offer many opinions on how to build the party and criticize and denounce negative phenomena among cadres and party members.

It is impossible to successfully carry out this campaign without tapping the combined strength of the masses, without making the people our base, without stressing openness and democracy—to which author N.V.L. committed himself in his “Things That Need To Be Done Immediately” series.

Public opinion hopes that, in order to be able to purify and increase the fighting strength of party organizations and the state apparatus and make social relations wholesome, the struggle against negative phenomena will be steadfastly continued and that this struggle fraught with difficulties and obstacles will be brought to final victory. The masses are demanding that “things that need to be done immediately” be continued, that there be more “tasks of the moment.”

**The Leading Role of Theory in the Process of  
Restructuring in the Soviet Union**

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in  
Vietnamese No 10, Oct 88 pp

[Article not translated]

**The U.S. Military-Industrial Complex—a Radical  
Right Wing Power**

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 78]

[Nguyen Khac Than; article not translated]

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From the Publications of Fraternal Countries

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**The Conditions for Developing Marxist-Leninist  
Theory**

42100003a Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese  
No 10, Oct 88 pp 82]

[Article not translated]

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